1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

There is little hunting and fishing as an occupation. Nets, snares, and traps are used in hunting, primarily to catch chevrotains, which are to be found in abundance near the boundary with the *desa* of Dauh Tukad. The Tĕngananese girls are very fond of the *dedes rase*, so that the young fellows, especially, concentrate on catching this musk-deer.

There is practically nothing done in the way of handicrafts (with the single exception of weaving) in Tĕnganan. I counted only twelve carpenters, two wood and stone workers, and one smith in the village. The smith comes from the village of Tunggak, and is bound to the *desa* by a permanent debt. The Tĕngananese smiths of earlier times have moved to the *pande* village of Bratan. The dwellings display little that is artistic; only a few temple gates have been given a certain amount of decoration by artists from other villages. Nowadays, however, there are several skilled wood carvers in the village.

The dwellings are to a very large extent covered with coconut leaf. The roofing is done by persons from other *desas*, who also provide the material. If a roof is to be covered with *alang-alang*, however, other members of the *desa* are asked to help. As was pointed out, the *bale buga* must have a roof either of coconut leaf or sugar-palm fibre, which latter is very expensive. Plaiting and the making of bricks and pottery are prohibited activities, though the women are allowed to glaze ceramics made elsewhere.

So-called Tĕngananese fabrics are popular throughout Bali and among all tourists. It is, however, not so well known that these fabrics are made only in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan, and not, for example, in the nearby *desas* of Tĕnganan Dauh Tukad and Tĕnganan Pasĕdahan. Hence the Balinese themselves rightly call the fabrics *gĕringsing*, though Europeans always speak of Tĕngananese cloths.[12] It is frequently said that the reddish-brown colour which gives the fabrics such a warm glow beside the black and yellow was originally obtained with human blood. In Tĕnganan itself, however, this is emphatically denied. As far back as can be remembered the dye has been obtained from Nusa Pĕnida, and the

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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286 yarns from Abang, Datah, Mount Sĕraya, and Chulik. The weaving women are nowadays much given to complaining about the adulteration of the dye on Nusa Pĕnida, as a result of which the sheen is less rich. The name *gĕringsing* is explained in popular
[789] etymology as meaning 'free from sickness' (*gĕring* means 'sick' and *sing* 'not'), which is in itself enough to indicate that the cloths are honoured by the people because of their magic influence. The origin of the *gĕringsing* cloths is traced back to Batara Indra, who created shadows in the sky so that they could be copied as patterns in the cloths.

As was pointed out, the weaving of the *gĕringsings*, a sacred activity for the women, is done in the *bale buga*, where the top ends of the warp threads are attached to one of the columns. There is no actual loom. The weaving women have to take a number of *adat* regulations into account. Throughout Bali weavers are strict in following the *adat:* they are afraid of disgruntling Batara Sawatuwa, who then tangles the threads or plays some other sort of prank. This belief is widespread in Tĕnganan. During dyeing, for example, it may happen that the red colour is uneven or that the black suddenly turns ash-grey. In that case the dyeing is stopped and the cloth is finished and sold outside the *desa* – for while in the *desa* itself a miscarried *gĕringsing* is not considered of any value, people elsewhere on Bali are content to use it for various ceremonies, and tourists, too, are not so particular.[13]

In early times the *gĕringsing* fabrics were used by rulers and lords. In the *Rangga-Lawe*, for example, it is said that Sri Arsa Wijaya made use of a *gĕringsing*.[14] Outside Tĕnganan the *gĕringsing* fabrics are today requisites for any number of *adat* ceremonies. Often the cloths are rented or borrowed for the occasion, since by no means everyone owns such a valuable fabric. They are used at the
[852] three-month and six-month ceremonies for children, at the hair offering, and at tooth-filings, weddings, and funerals, while they also serve as decorations in temples.

Special mention should be made of the use of the *sanan ĕmpĕg*, the smallest type of Tĕngananese cloth. If someone's next older brother and younger brother die he is called *sanan ĕmpĕg*, a broken

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

yoke. He is considered as impure, and this gives rise to an offering 286
at which he must wear a *gĕringsing sanan ĕmpĕg*.[11] He continues to wear this *gĕringsing* for six seven-day weeks. According to popular belief if the rice crop is threatened by a plague, especially of locusts, persons who are *sanan ĕmpĕg* must be requested to make a procession to the *sawahs* wearing the *gĕringsing*. Shouting continually, they rouse the insects, which then disappear no one knows where.

In the village of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan itself the use of certain *gĕringsings* is prescribed for specified ceremonies. There is little known about the names of the different fabrics. There are three ways of classifying them: according to the number of threads bound together, according to the pattern, and according to the use the cloths are put to.

Besides the *gĕringsings* proper, another kind of cloth, the so-called *sampĕt*, is also made in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. The *sampĕt* is a small white or yellow circular-woven *kain*. The white sort serves as a sash, *sabuk tubuhan*, which is part of the compulsory dress for meetings. These are the only fabrics woven in the *desa*. The *kain lilit* or *kamběn gantih* belonging to the *adat* costume of the girls is made in Tĕnganan Dauh Tukad and Pasĕdahan.

Music, dance, and drama are little developed in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕ- 53
ringsingan. Of the many Balinese plays the only ones known in the *desa* are the *Chalon Arang*, the renowned witch play, which has a more or less religious character, and the *gambuh*. Of the dances, the *legong* and the *barong* are new in the village and the *gandrung* and the *joged*, two dances which give the Balinese an opportunity to reveal their worst side, are forbidden. Consequently when in earlier times the rulers of Karangasĕm passed the night in the village they had to provide their own dancing girls and boys, for the *desa* could not supply them. The *desa* does not own a wayang set, nor is the wayang performed there.

Since music is used on Bali almost exclusively as an accompani- 533
ment to drama and the dance, it is understandable that the number of orchestras is also small. The *desa* owns a *gamĕlan gong*,

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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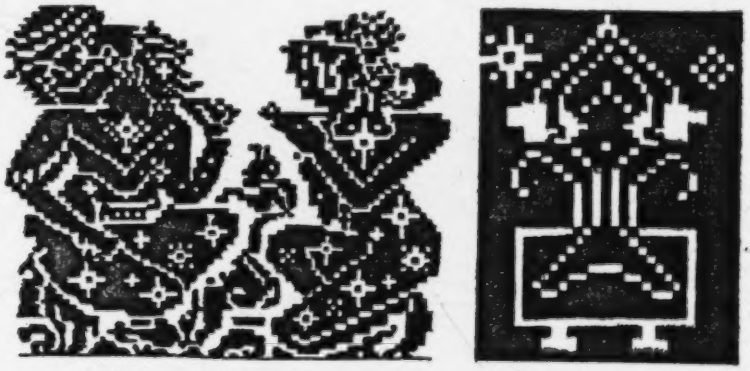
293 386 [782] [826] [751] in Tenganan to make dyes for their famous ceremonial scarfs, the *kamben gringsing*,[4] a cloth that, because it is supposed to be dyed with human blood, has the power to insulate the wearer against evil vibrations and is prescribed at all important Balinese rituals. These scarfs, in which the warp is left uncut, are much in demand by the Balinese. The *kamben gringsing* is a loosely woven, narrow scarf of thick cotton with intricate designs in rich tones of rust-red, beige, and black against a yellowish background. The

[532] [286]



Human Motifs woven on the *Kamben Gringsing*

process of dying and weaving is unbelievably long and complicated, and over five years are required from the time the cotton is prepared to the finished scarf, according to Korn. The threads are left in each of the dyes for months, macerated in kemiri oil for months to fix each colour, and then dried in the sun for months after each stage. The design is obtained by the double "ikat" process (*ikat*, "to tie"): that is, the threads of both the warp and weft are patterned previous to the weaving. To do this warp and weft are stretched on frames, and groups of threads are tightly bound with fibres at certain points before they are dipped

[171] [4] *Kamben* means simply "cloth," "article of dress"; *gringsing* means "flaming," "mottled" like an orchid. Single *ikat*, where only the warp is "ikated," is common throughout Indonesia, and some are famous, like the large shawls from Sumba, Sumbawa, Roti, and Flores, which are highly prized; but a "double *ikat*" is extremely rare; besides those from Tenganan, others known are from Gujirat in India and simple shawls made in Zurich, Switzerland (according to Ikle).

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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into the dye, so that the tied part remains uncoloured to produce the design. This is repeated with each colour, the part already dyed also protected by the fibre binding. When the threads are finally coloured and ready to be woven, the design of the weft is fitted exactly into the one on the warp, and a mistake spoils the work of years. Taking into consideration the laboriousness of the dyeing, the painstaking, difficult weaving, and the mystery that surrounds the secret process, it is easy to understand why the popular mind has endowed the *kamben gringsing* with such extraordinary powers. In Tenganan the scarfs are an essential part of ceremonial dress, and I-Tanggú told me that if he sold his he would lose his place in the village council. Only the finest scarfs are worn in Tenganan; imperfect ones or those in which the dyes fail to produce the required tones are sold to outsiders.

In North Bali, on the slopes of the Batur, above Tedjakula, is the Bali Aga village of Sembiran, where even the daily language is different from that of the rest of Bali. There, as in Tenganan, the " temple " is a group of rough stone altars surrounded by a neglected fence. It is hidden in the jungle near the edge of a deep ravine, a dangerous haunted place, where not even the people of Sembiran would venture alone. In Sembiran the dead are not buried; after washing the corpse, it is wrapped in new cloth, carried to the edge of the ravine, and deposited on a bamboo platform with offerings, consecrated water, and the belongings of the deceased. There it is left for three days; if, after that, it has not disappeared, this means that the spirits did not care to take it, so it is thrown unceremoniously into the ravine to be eaten by wild beasts.

There are many other mountain villages that have resisted the influence of Hinduism. Although not as extraordinary as Tenganan and Sembiran, they are equally conservative Bali Aga, like Trunyan on the shores of Lake Batur, where the largest statue in Bali is kept, that of Ratú Gedé Pantjering Djagat, powerful patron guardian of the village. There is Taro, the home of Kbó Iwá, a fearful giant of pre-Hindu days who was so great that there

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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of banana leaf over them. When finished, the leaf dishes were simply thrown to the pigs; no dishes were left to wash. A *kendih* of water was passed around after the meal, each drinking in turn and at a distance from it, letting a continuous jet of water fall into the open mouth, the lips never touching the spout. (When we tried to drink like the Balinese we succeeded only in choking or drenching ourselves.) The mouth and fingers were rinsed, and after emitting a loud belch of satisfaction the men took a nap or went to the *balé bandjar* to chat before resuming work. Generally the women ate after the men were finished, then fed the pigs, and spent the rest of the afternoon weaving, threshing rice, or simply delousing each other, a great social pastime.

For a while it seemed as if the art of hand weaving would be wrecked by the ever increasing importation of foreign cloth. Chinese silk thread was hard to obtain, aniline dyes gave brighter hues and were infinitely easier to handle than the old vegetable dyes, and Japanese rayon for a few cents a yard looked almost like real silk. In later years, however, the affluence of tourists has increased the market for Balinese handicrafts and many women derive an income from selling garish brocades. On our second visit the women of our household took to weaving and every afternoon the characteristic rhythmic sounds of many looms came from all directions.

On the Balinese loom (*prabot tennun*) the warp is stretched between a heavy wooden structure (*tjetjaga* and *pendalan*) and a sort of yoke (*épor*) shaped like a Cupid's bow held by the woman's back. After the bamboo spindle (*tunda*) has gone through the warp, the weave is tightened with a long ruler (*belida*) of polished hard wood that slides over a bamboo drum (*pengrorogan*), while the threads are separated with a bamboo tube (*bungbunggan*) provided with little bells that jingle at every move. Thus the work is made easier by the rhythmical sequence of three sounds: the tinkling of the bells, the sound of the hollow bamboo as it is struck by the ruler, and the energetic double knock to tighten the weave. Weaving is the main

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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occupation of the women of caste who feel above doing heavy house labour, but they are not lazy and take to weaving with tenacity. In our house the wives and aunts of our host, all noblewomen with servants to do the housework, remained all day

Loom (*Prabot Tennun*)

A — Pendalan
B — Tjetjaga
C — Pengrorogan
D — Selaran
E — Bungbunggan
F — Yerining
G — Belida
H — Srat
I — Sumpil
J — Apit
K — Épor
L — Tunda

glued to their looms and often continued working into the night by the faint light of a petrol lamp.

Towards evening the ground of the house shook, resounding with deep, rhythmic thumping – the women threshing the rice for the next day's meal. Two women pounded the rice in wood mortars with long, heavy pestles, each dropping her pestle alternately in unfailing, perfectly timed intervals, catching it on the rebound with the other hand. Then the rice was separated from

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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use found in every home implements of labour, simple but effective tools made of bamboo, wood, and iron, walls of split bamboo, cool mats for sleeping made of finely woven pandanus leaf, light but strong baskets and pocketbooks, and clay vessels to keep water cool. The common objects of daily requirements are beautiful in their simplicity, in the handling of elemental materials such as wood, bamboo, palm-leaf, and clay. In contrast are the lavish taste, labour, and money spent on their objects of luxury: their temples and musical instruments, their jewellery and textiles worn on ceremonial occasions, their weapons, and so forth. Their love of display often goes to extremes, as in the case of the costly towers, biers, and other accessories for the cremation of their dead, which are destroyed in a few minutes after hundreds of guilders and months of labour are spent to produce them.

I have mentioned the *gringsing* cloth, the scarfs from Tenganan, which are one of the rare examples in the world of the art of "double" *ikat* – that in which both the warp and the weft of the cloth are patterned by the elaborate process of dyeing only sections of the threads before weaving by binding them with fibres, the designs of both being made to fit afterwards when the scarf is woven. The *ikat* process is characteristic of Indonesians, although today the laborious double *ikats* are made only in Tenganan in Bali. Single *ikats* in cotton – those in which only the warp is previously patterned – are still made in Nusa Penida and in Mas, but in Klungkung they make "ikated" silks of amazingly elaborate patterns.

Klungkung is also famous for its brocades (*sungket*) in red silk with woven designs in gold and silver thread. The Balinese often decorate pieces of silk by the tie-and-dye process (*plangi*); the fabric is knotted tightly in certain places and dipped in the dyes so that when the knots are loosened, a regular pattern results, leaving uncoloured patches where the dye could not penetrate. Interesting also are the striped and chequered cloths in cotton and silk made all over the island, some of which are very

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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popular, and the open-work scarfs (*kamben tjerik*) worn by the women around the breasts for feasts. There is a peculiar cloth

Motif on a *Sungket* Cloth of Silk and Gold Brocade

in black and white checks (*kamben polén*) like the enlarged design of gingham, to which is attributed magic protective qualities. It is worn for certain magic dances like the *baris tekok*

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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286 djago and is the garment of magic characters such as Bhima,
531 Twalén, and Merdah.
[789] Although not a part of the weaving art, the gilt cloth (*kamben prada*) used for theatrical performances is also important. This is coloured silk boldly patterned with applications of pure goldleaf (*prada*) glued onto the fabric with Chinese gelatine (*antjur*) by a special process. It is curious that despite the fact that every Balinese wears Javanese *batik* for everyday dress, there is no evidence of their having adopted this popular process of decorating cloth. I have found strange *batiks* in a rough hand-woven cotton of a non-Javanese style, but I could never discover proof that they were made in Bali.

326 The Balinese also excel in the art of working metals, from the simple agricultural implements of iron, the parts of musical instruments, and the accessories of priests (bells, incense-burners, lamps, tripods, and so forth) cast in brass, to the extravagant gold and silver platters (*lelantjang*), water-bottles (*kendíh*), and vases (*sangkú* and *batil*), the knives and scissors for cutting betel-nut (*tjaket*) of wrought iron inlaid in silver, and the rich and elaborate rings, bracelets, ear-plugs, and flowers for the hair in hammered and chiselled gold set with rubies and star sapphires.

411 But the most important examples of Balinese craftsmanship
778 are their krisses, the famous weapons of important Indonesian men, nowadays worn only as symbols and as ornaments. An in-
[326] herited kris that has descended in a family for generations be-
[428] comes not only their most important heirloom, but also the
[769] tangible part of the family deity and has come actually to be worshipped as an ancestral god, a *batara kawitan*, in whom the magic strength of the forefathers continues to live. Thus the head of a prominent Balinese family regards his kris as an important appendage and a symbol of himself. Today in the old villages it is compulsory for every man to wear his kris to attend a meeting; the kris must be worn at marriage and for all ceremonial or state occasions. Whoever cannot appear in person, sends his

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) · 1938
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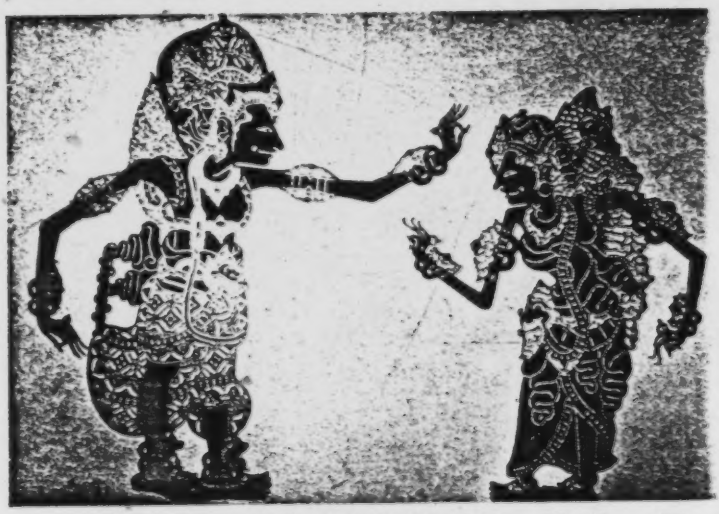

ABOVE: Detail of a Fine Silk and Gold Brocade from Klungkung. The wayang figures are woven into the fabric by the ikat process — the silk threads are dyed with the pattern before the cloth is woven

BELOW: Two *Wayang Kulit*, puppets of buffalo parchment, cut out with dyes and painted

[P. 202 (M)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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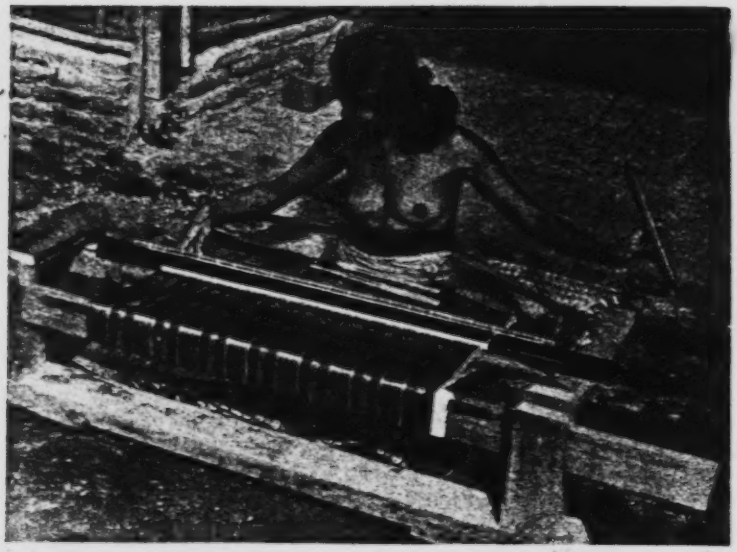

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ABOVE: A noblewoman at her loom

BELOW: For banquets men prepare quantities of saté, turtle meat en brochette, broiled over a bed of hot coals

[P. 406 (XXIV)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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[286]

In a coming-of-age costume of gold brocade, with beaten gold headdress, a Brahmana girl stands by an appropriate offering of fried rice paste, in bright-coloured shapes of animals and gods

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

Group II (41–80) small cult objects of earthenware, and miniature replicas of offerings which are also made in dough or from palm leaf.

Only the first category, the agricultural implements and domestic utensils are listed in the religious manuals. I consider that the custom of making these objects must consequently be a very ancient tradition. There is no reference in the religious manuals to the items in the second group, just as there is no mention of the performance of the *wayang lĕmah*. In the manuscript with the most extensive directives for the *pamangku* [17] several of the *èlèk-èlèk padudusan* are listed, and it appears from the text that these were also used as offerings on the occasion of the erecting of a new building. The items listed in this manuscript are

1 *tinggala* plough.
2 *lampit* harrow.
3 *nga* plough-yoke.

These three items, which may be made from white *manduri* wood, are the implements for work performed by the man. However, implements for hunting, fishing, etc. are not referred t.

The items associated with the work of the woman are

4 *ilir* fan, for fanning the cooking fire — identical with the usual *kipas* (not shown in the illustrations).
5 *sĕpit* fire-tongs.
6 *kuskusan* basket in which the rice is steamed.
7 *sok suda-mala* basket 'cleansed of impurity'.
8 *sèmprong* pipe for blowing on the cooking fire.
9 *sidi* sieve.
10 *tikĕh* mat.
11 *ngyu* winnow.
12 *lisung* hollowed-out section of a tree trunk for threshing rice.
13 *luhu* rice pounder, used with the *lisung*.
14 *kĕtung* hollowed-out round block of wood for threshing rice.
15 *yantra* spinning wheel.
16 *pami(s)pisan* instrument for separating the seeds from raw cotton.

In the manuscript it is specified that these items are to be 'of small dimensions, and made from *dapdap* wood'.

In addition to these, the following items were cited to me by an informant, a Balinese woman of the Brahman caste.

17 *undar* thread-winder.
18 *panganyinan* warp-frame.

[17] *Kusuma Dèwa*, K (manuscript from the Kirtya-Liefrinck van der Tuuk *lontar* library in Singaradja) No. 1804, f. 49b.

[For illustrations of these implements, see category 116, pp. 59-60 --Analyst]

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

19 *j(ar)iring* stave
20 *bung-bungan* bamboo tube for separating the threads on the loom. 783*
21 *pandalan* bobbin. 778
22 *bēlida* strip of wood used for tightening the weave. 412
23 *por* weaver's yoke. 286
24 *sērat* weaving reed.
25 *sēlēran* slats for arranging the pattern to be woven.
26 *apit* roller which is attached to the yoke and round which the finished cloth is wound.
27 *tunak* spindle holder.

With the copies of these items made by the village carpenter in (Pa)-Nēstanan, near Ubud were also two additional objects — certainly not improvised by the village carpenter 783* 778 412

28 *kulkul* wooden slit gong. [534]
29 *ganchan* a peg of *pinang* wood with a notch on which the thread from the spinning wheel is wound. [286]

(A further item cited by my informant but not made by the carpenter is

30 *dampar* three legged stool of the type used by the market women.)
31 *klatkah sudamala luh*, and
32 *klatkah sudamala muani* } replicas made from bamboo strips, of the platforms on which purificatory offerings are placed [18].

The objects listed above all replicas of agricultural implements and household utensils are made from wood or bamboo. The following eight, replicas of household utensils, are of terracotta. 783* 778

33 *choblong* and *chēblēng* bowls, with or without base. [415]
34 *payuk* cooking pot 4 in number.

On festive occasions the *payuk* are embellished with the *sikēpan* or *sanjata*, the weapons or emblems of the gods. I have seen an ordinary cooking pot amongst the ritual objects at a marriage ceremony and also at a *ma-gedong-gēdong* celebration (held shortly before the birth of a child).[19] This must be a survival of an ancient custom. At this particular marriage ceremony a full-sized four pronged hoe, decorated with *sapsap* (offerings cut out of palm leaf), was placed beside the cooking pot.

35 *kēkēb* pot lid, undecorated, leaning against the *payuk*; (an elaborately decorated version of the *kēkēb* is used with No 43).
36 *pulu* container for hulled rice, with three holes.
37 *kakurungan* bird cage, with approximately 30 interstices; also a component of the lis.

[18] Illustration in Swellengrebel, op. cit., pl. VI.
[19] The *Māṇuṣa Yadña* (Note 15) does not give any details regarding these objects.

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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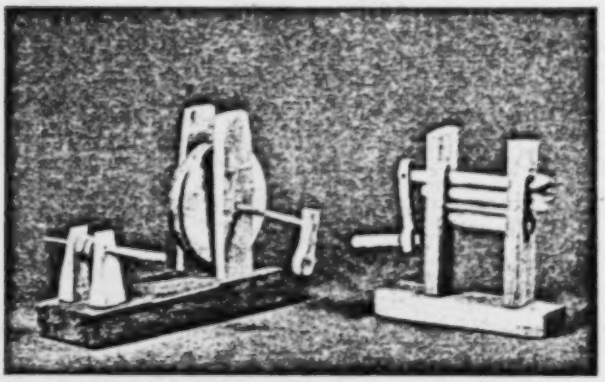
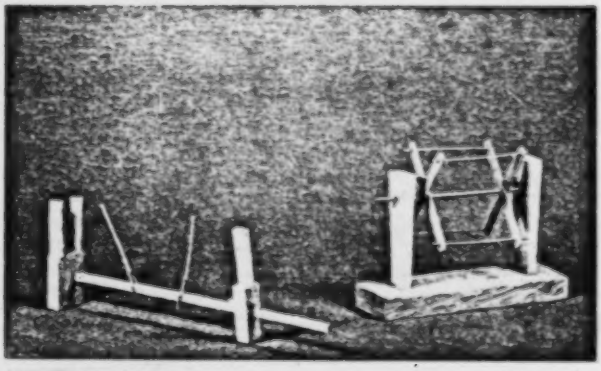


15. *yantra* 16. *pami(s)pisan*



18. *panganyinan* 17. *undar*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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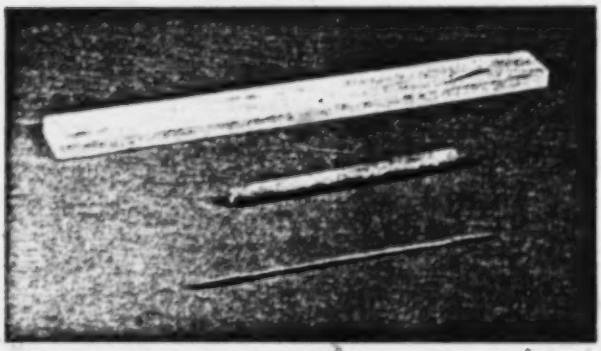
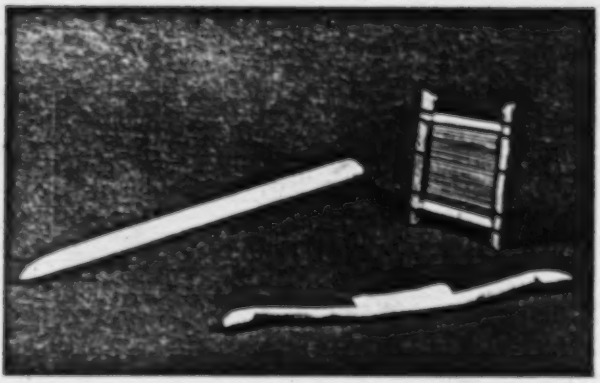


19. *jfar jiring* 20. *bung-bungan* 21. *pandalan*



22. *bélida* 23. *por* 24. *sirat*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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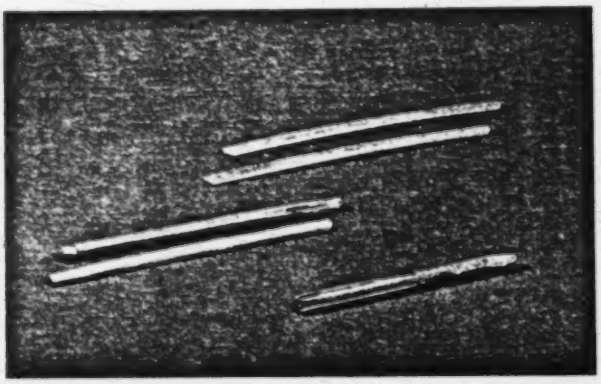

25. *sĕlĕran* 26. *apit* 27. *tunak*

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28. *kulkul*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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286

29. *ganchan*

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415

33. *choblong or chèblèng* 33. *choblong or chèblèng*

34. *payuk*
with 35. *kĕkĕb*

I [502 cont.]
286 identical strips next to each other, and finally the warp is
386 folded over several times in such a way that the ikat dyer can tie off several figures at the same time. If she makes a mistake, it will appear as many as four times in the finished fabric if, prior to tying off the threads, the warp was folded first lengthwise and then folded double in the width. Once the wrapping process is finished, then the thread is dyed, following a particular course, namely, from darker to light. It is to be noted that once the darker colors are dyed, they cannot be covered. All the wrappings are put on together and removed successively. Thus, when the warp is immersed in a second dye, one color is put on another. As a result, indigo, for example, retains its pure, blue tint only when it is used without other colors, and red, when it is covered with yellow, becomes a typical orange tint. Colors of secondary importance are often just touched up by hand.

What has been said above refers to the ikat dyeing of the warp, the most common process. There are various areas in the archipelago, however, where this process is applied to
S the woof. This is the case, for example, in Palembang and on
B Bali. The warp then consists of plain colored threads, and the
[286 386] woman must make the desired pattern with the woof threads. In one single instance both warp and woof undergo the ikat process. This is the case in Tenganan, a mountain village on Bali. The most remarkable thing about this case, unique so far as is known, is that the inhabitants of this little village are the so-called Bali-aga, not Hindu Balinese, but animists. It is obvious that this process, in which the woman doing the ikat dyeing must see to it that the wrapped-off figures in both warp and woof exactly correspond, is doubly difficult.

I Besides cotton threads, palm leaves are also used for
283 weaving, [503] primarily for coarse fabrics. Agel is obtained from the young, not fully matured leaves of the gebang palm, which reaches about the same height as the coconut palm and has dark green, fan-shaped leaves from one to one and a half meters in length and breadth.

Sumbawa OF18
Bali OF7
Land Dyak OC8
Wetar OF21
Sumba OF17

SW 789 [507 cont.] plank of the warp apparatus so that the threads will not break so easily.

I 286 777 Naturally it is necessary everywhere to look for or to choose a good day on which to begin the weaving (1).

1. J. E. Jasper and Mas Pirngadie, De Inlandsche Kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch-Indië, II, pp. 5 ff.

B 775 286 Pleyte tells of a folk belief on Bali, according to which women who do not know how to weave will have their sarongs torn off by dogs in the hereafter to shame them.

L W 777 286 All kinds of stories are also told about the shuttle. In the Landak division (western Borneo) and also on the island of Wetar there is a belief that weaving brings disaster. On Wetar the inhabitants may not wear imported fabrics. Once a forbidden pattern was used! There were bloody wars as a result, through which the population was greatly decimated. There are also many stories concerning the thread, in [508] which the spinner, as well as the woman who dyes the thread and the thread itself belong to the religious sphere.

I 439 Although weaving is always a home industry, there are some places in the archipelago from which fabrics are exported to the surrounding countries. It is obvious that the most highly developed weaving implements and the best work are found there.

Su 286 283 563 467 There is also some division of labor in these areas. On Sumba, for instance, the ikat work is done by the wives of chiefs and some notables, while the weaving is left to the slaves.

I 286 565 A general characteristic of Indonesian fabrics is the division of patterns into reserved and unreserved. The former may be worn only by princes and their families, the latter by the common people. This division of patterns is found not only in weaving but applies also to batiked garments, especially sarongs.

I 286 531 A second general characteristic is that the weaver begins with a certain decoration that is quite different from the

Sundanese OE7
Bali OF7
Sumba OF17

[516 cont.]

Sn 286 353 A very old Sundanese fabric is the kain kasang, which is used as a wall covering, but only in the remote districts. This cloth is now produced only in Djampang-koelon (Soekaboemi) and southern Banten. There are two types of kasang, a western and an eastern. The first consists of strips sewed round and round to one another, woven in plain red or blue cotton; the latter, brownish-red in background, exhibits a fantastic pattern because the warp threads are only partly dyed prior to being woven. The width of a kasang is never more than an ell (1).

1. B. Alkema, Chapter "De Soendaneezen [The Sundanese]," in De Volken van Nederlands Indië, II, p. 252.

I 286 501 227 Agel is still woven in little pieces the length of the agel leaf, which are later sewed together. They serve for sails and for nets, formerly probably also for clothing.

B 286 183 Besides the cloth given the double ikat treatment in Tenganan, there are fabrics on Bali, like the Palembang cloth, with an ikat woof. In the Balinese fabrics, yellow is an especially popular color. The Balinese in general are fond of bright, gay colors.

Sm 286 531 The Sumba fabrics are the best in the Timor Archipelago. Here, too, there are patterns that are reserved for the princes alone. The respectfully raised hands of the human figures, depicted as a row of slaves with the form of the ribs clearly delineated, are intended to demonstrate, as it were, that neither outwardly nor inwardly is there anything present among the subjects that shows bad intentions toward the prince.

In contrast with these cloths there are those with self-confident figures: the hands down; the heads covered with large hats; horses on which human figures are balanced in a standing position; horned rams which are being pecked by grallatorial birds. All this points to the rulers. The beauty of the Sumba fabrics, however, lies in the rich shades of coloring. "A yellow

1:Alkema & Bezemer--603 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Madura OE6
Javanese OE5
Bali OF7
Sumatra OD1
Lombok OF12
Borneo OC1

I J 286 531

[539 cont.] after the batiking, the wax is pricked in various places with a needle so that the dye can penetrate it, and the finished cloth seems to be strewn with dots.

I J [174]

3. The making of plangi or pelangi (Malayan, "rainbow"). The making of plangi was probably introduced on Java by the Hindus. This process is also known in British India by the name bandhana.

Plangi cloths are made either of Chinese silk or of local fabric (Bali).

[540] The reserving is done by making burls in the cloth to be dyed, which are protected from the action of the dye by being wrapped.

The material is first cut to the desired length; two to four identical pieces are laid on one another and folded in three lengthwise in order to be sewn together. [Illustration appears here.] The figures that are to be knotted are either stamped on or indicated with curcuma juice. The burls are formed by drawing up the cloth around the figures with thread and pulling it tight. The burls thus formed are wrapped with leaf strips from the gebang palm or with coconut leaf, and then the cloth is dyed, the wrapped parts remaining uncolored. The plangi method is thus really an extension of the tritik process.

I J [386]

S Br L Bl [286]

The art of making plangi cloths is practiced in our archipelago primarily on Java (Semarang, Kedoe, Banjoemas, Surabaja), on Bali and Lombok, on Sumatra (Palembang), and on Borneo (Martapoera).

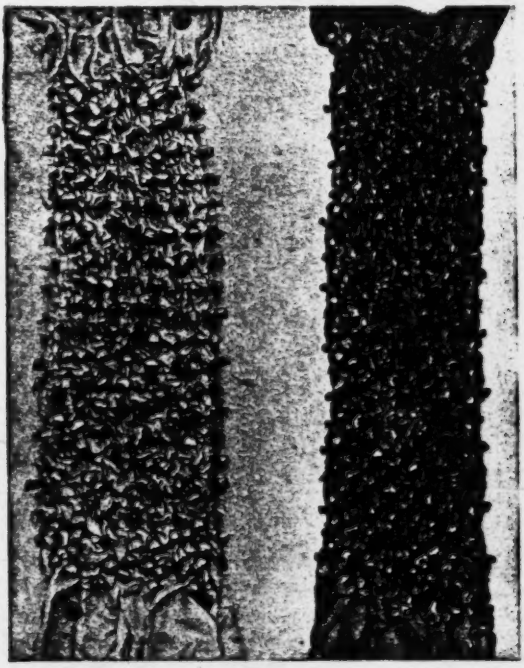
M J I 291

Concerning the wearing of clothing produced by batiking, plangi, etc., it should be noted that [541] the headcloth is a national piece of clothing for most of the peoples in the archipelago, the Mohammedans especially, but also the non-Mohammedans. It comes first particularly on Java and Madura. There are many ways of tying the headcloth around the head. In central Java and the [illustration appears here] Principalities in particular much care is bestowed upon it. There are as many names used

J 291

J [542 cont.]
291 a man to appear before his superiors dressed in a sarong. The kain pandjang at its full width is wound once around the loins [illustration appears here] in such a way that a strip about half the length of the cloth is left over, which is then folded into a

B [286]



Balinese plangi in two stages of preparation
(before and after the dyeing)
Photo. Jasper and Mas Pirngadie

J [481] bundle of pleats that hangs straight down. The true Javanese likes to hold the flap of the lower pleat in his swinging hand as he walks, which is regarded as elegant. The kain pandjang has an unbroken batik pattern without any other decoration, thus without kepala.

J [292] A special loincloth for both men and women is the dodot. It is a cloth about seven ells long and twice as wide as an ordinary